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69 head of the Department of Public Security of the Shanghai municipal government.[19]

People's procuratorates have co-ordinated their main task with the key drives of the country. The discovery of nationwide corruption and inefficiency together with the urge for renewed suppression of counterrevolutionary activities in 1955 have decided the responsiblities of the People's Procuratorates.

## II. PUBLIC SECURITY AGENCIES AND POLICE

### A. Public Security Agencies

617 625 As the chief instrument of the Communist regime in its effort to maintain close vigilance over the entire populace and to assume the responsibility for the execution of arrests and punishment, the public security agency is perhaps the Communists' most powerful instrument of violence. In addition to its wide establishment in the rural and urban districts, the public security agency maintains organizations of all types in all government and industrial organizations. These public security agencies are further aided by public security networks organized among the masses, and by the judicious use of informers. Security forces, allegedly a branch of the armed forces, in collaboration with other secret agencies of the Communist Party, are the instruments of violence placed at the disposal of the public security agencies at all levels.

1. Organization Under the direction of the Ministry of Public Security of the Central People's

19. Liberation Daily, Jan. 25, 1951, p. 2.

1:Stanford U. S-4. 5 1956 AF 15 East China
AF15

Government, similar departments and bureaus are organized at all levels, extending down to the public security commissions in the hsiang. The public security system is one of extreme centralization and is operated entirely by the Communist Party.

In the East China Region prior to 1954, a Department of Public Security under the East China Military and Political Committee was maintained. Because of the need for secrecy, and perhaps because of the sinister role it played, information on its organization and activity is not available. However, a report from the Nationalist Government on Formosa indicated[20] that the organization was composed of eight sections: political security, police, border security, armed security, "Reform-through-labor" (forced labor), intelligence, and personnel. Security cadre schools, security regiments, and other security commands were reported to be under the direct jurisdiction of this department. At the provincial level, the department maintained an elaborate organization, comprised of an administrative office and offices devoted to political security, security administration, police, general service, and Reform-through-labor. Other units such as the security cadre schools, coastal public security bureaus, and forced labor battalions were included.

In addition to the public security agencies in the East China Region, military authorities also shared a considerable responsibility in the maintenance of "public order and safety." The Military Control Committee in the major cities had been

20. Organizational Chart, Communist Military, Public Security and Intelligence Organization, Taipei, 1953.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2h,
Political Background

# BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF KEY PERSONALITIES

## I

•647 In studying the distribution of power among key personalities in East China, we are concerned with 61 men who occupy a total of 150 positions. Through an analysis of the distribution of the administrative positions which these men hold, we can add to our knowledge of Chinese Communist techniques for channeling authority from Peking throughout the provincial administrations. To begin with, we find an overlapping of personnel in regional and national positions, and a concentration of key jobs in the hands of a relatively small group of senior leaders.

Beyond this, the concurrent political functions of the various administrators tell us much about the extent of Communist Party control at key points throughout the provincial units. The men who represent the central government in the provincial administration also carry out the theoretically distinct functions of directing Party instruments of control on local levels, and of directing non-Party organizations which are, in fact, fronts, or devices for mass control and for presenting

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~~AF15~~ AF15

• an appearance of wide democratic participation in the affairs of the nation.

## I. JOB CLASSIFICATIONS

The positions which the 61 incumbents hold can be divided into three general classifications: national posts, administrative jobs on provincial levels, and functions in political parties or in organizations which are instruments for political control.

On the national level we find 42 positions held by men from this group. These positions, at the time of writing, include delegate to the First National People's Congress (NPC), member of the Standing Committee of the First NPC, member of the Standing Committee and the Second National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (Chinese People's P.C.C.), member of the National Defence Council, Deputy-Premier of the State Council, Chief of Staff of the People's Liberation Army, Minister of Commerce, Ambassador to the USSR, and Procurator-General of the People's Republic of China.

Sixty-four regional, provincial and municipal jobs are held by these 61 men. Their jobs include commander of military districts, director of the Department of Political Affairs, and political commissar of military districts; member, deputy-governor, and governor of

647 provincial People's governments; deputy-mayor and mayor of Shanghai; member of Provincial Committees of the Chinese P.C.C.; president of People's higher courts; and Army commanders of various echelons.

At the same time, these 61 incumbents hold 44 positions of a political nature. Included in these are membership in the Communist Party, membership in other political groups such as the Democratic League and the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, high ranking positions in mass organizations such as the New Democratic Youth Corps (NDYC) and the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, and the presidency of institutions of higher learning.

After examining the distribution pattern of administrative positions, we shall appraise the significance of the concurrent political functions and note the background of the men who hold these positions. Finally we shall look at the characteristics of the incumbents -- as a group -- in each post.

## II. INCUMBENTS HOLDING ONE POSITION

Twenty-two of the 61 men studied hold only one administrative position. In every case the position is a provincial one: one governor, eleven deputy-governors, three deputy-mayors of Shanghai, five presidents

of People's higher courts, one chairman of a provincial committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., and one commander of a provincial military district. We have very little information about the careers of most of these incumbents. In the recent past, nine held lesser administrative posts (member and vice-chairman of provincial People's governments, director of departments of public safety, and member of the East China Military and Political Committee and of the East China Administrative Committee). The only knowledge we have of seven is their present position.

The remaining four incubents are exceptions to this general picture. Chao Chien-min, the governor of the Shantung Provincial People's Government, has, according to our data, no other official function. We know that he is a former deputy-minister of Railways of the Central People's Government and a former member of the Southwest China Military and Political Committee, but other than this we have no information about him.

The other three men with only one position are distinguished from the rest by their membership in the Communist Party. Wang Cho-ju, deputy-governor of Shantung, is a former member of the Central Committee of the CPC. During World War II he was director of the Po-hai Area People's Government and secretary of the Hopei-Shantung Border

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~~AF15~~ AF15

•47 District Committee of the Shantung Sub-bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC; his present Party position is now known, but it is safe to assume that Wang probably has more prestige than other deputy-governors who hold only one position.

Li Shih-nung, deputy-governor of the Anhwei Provincial People's Government, is a former member of the North Anhwei Regional Committee of the CPC and a former director of the Department of Organization of the same committee. Hsu Chien-kuo, deputy-mayor of Shanghai, was director of the Department of Social Affairs of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Sub-bureau of the North China Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC and also, from 1948 to 1954, director of the Department of Public Safety of Tientsin, the East China M.P.C., and Shanghai. As in the case of Wang Cho-ju, we do not know the exact present Party status of either Li Shih-nung or Hsü Chien-kuo, but we may assume that in terms of real authority it gives them more weight than their counterparts in the provincial administration.

A summary of this data, then, reveals that among the men who hold only one administrative position, four incumbents -- 18 per cent of this category -- have rank either in the administrative hierarchy or in the Party,

• 647 a circumstance which indicates the probability of greater prestige than among the other incumbents in this single-job group.

## III. INCUMBENTS HOLDING TWO POSITIONS

Twenty-three of the 61 men who constitute the official leadership of East China hold two administrative posts. Twelve of these fall into the same general patterns as the group with only one position. We know very little about their backgrounds, and their positons are lesser ones in the hierarchy of both provincial and national administration. The regional posts include commander of military districts, commander of Army corps, Provincial Committee member of the Chinese People's P.C.C., president of People's higher courts, deputy-governor, and deputy-mayor of Shanghai. The only national position held by men in this group is delegate to the First NPC.

Three men who hold national positions on a higher level are former Kuomintang officials. Their positions include membership on the Standing Committee of the First NPC, membership on the Second National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., and membership on the National Defence Council.

• 647 Three other exceptions to the general pattern are the governors of the Kiangsu, Anhwei, and Chekiang provincial People's governments. These three men are also delegates to the First NPC and no other administrative position is attributed to them. Huang Yen, the governor of Anhwei, is probably a ranking member of the CPC; he is a former deputy-secretary of the North Anhwei Regional Committee of the CPC and his Communist career goes back at least as far as 1941, when he was defence director of the area west of the Tientsin-Pukow Railway. Hui Yü-yü, the governor of Kiangsu, is a former director of the North Kiangsu People's Government, and Sha Wen-han, the governor of Chekiang, was formerly president of the Chekiang National University. We have no other data on these two men.

The remaining five men in this group are senior Communist Party members: T'an Cheng-lin, Shu T'ung, Chang Ting-ch'eng, Liu Hsiao, and Tseng Shan. All hold key positions on the national level and all are veteran Communist leaders.

In the group of men with two positions, therefore, we find an almost equal division between two types of incumbents: men with two provincial or relatively less important positions, and men who hold top rank regionally or nationally or both. The latter group includes

•447 Party members, former Kuomintang officials, and governors.

## IV. INCUMBENTS HOLDING THREE POSITIONS

Eight men hold three jobs each. Only one of them -- Tseng Hsi-sheng -- is known to be a Party official. He is secretary of the Anhwei Provincial Committee of the CPC, and holds the positions of chairman of the Anhwei Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., political commissar of the Anhwei Provincial Military District, and delegate to the First NPC.

Two non-Party men who supported the Communists from the early 1950s also hold three positions. Sheng P'i-hua, a prominent Shanghai industrialist who took part in the "Anti-Civil War" and "Resist-America" campaigns, is a member of the committee on the budget of the First NPC, a member of the Standing Committee of the Second National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., and deputy-mayor of Shanghai. Ch'en Chia-keng, a famous educator and humanitarian, has held key positions in the Communist administration since 1949 and is now a delegate to the First NPC, a member of the Standing Committee of the First NPC and vice-chairman of the Second National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.

1:Stanford U. S-4,, 5 1956 AF15 East China
AF15

•647 Two former Kuomintang officials each hold three positions: Ma Ying-ch'u, whose KMT affiliation may not have been strong, and Ch'en Shao-k'uan. Both are delegates to the First NPC; Ma is also a member of the Standing Committee of the First NPC and a member of the Second National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., and Ch'en is a member of the Second National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C. and deputy-governor of the Fukien Provincial People's Government.

Three men, Li Ch'eng-chih, Yang Shih-i, and Chao Che-fu, hold positions as deputy governors, delegates to the First NPC, and members of a provincial committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C.

To summarize, men with three positions can also be divided into two general classifications. One group includes administrators who would logically be expected to have senior status: one Communist Party official, two prominent leaders with records of Communist sympathies, and two ex-Kuomintang leaders with long experience. The other group is comprised of three officials on whom we have little information beyond their present positions, but who, on the basis of their triple jobs, may well be among those next in line for key positions.

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AF15

## V. YEH FEI, SU YÜ, AND CH'EN I

647 The remaining three administrators -- Yeh Fei, Su Yü, and Ch'en I -- hold four, five and seven jobs respectively. All are veteran Communist military leaders and all hold key positions. Yeh Fei is governor of the Fukien Provincial People's Government, member of the National Defence Council, Commander of the 10th Army Corps of the People's Liberation Army, and commander of the Fukien Provincial Military District. Su Yü is Chief of Staff, member of the National Defence Council, delegate to the First NPC, commander of the 3rd Field Army, and commander of the East China Military District. Ch'en I is Deputy-Premier of the State Council, vice chairman of the National Defence Council, member of the Second National Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C., delegate to the First NPC, mayor of Shanghai, commander of the 3rd Field Army, and commander of the East China Military District.

This survey of the allocation of administrative positions among the 61 men under study reveals that despite a certain obvious amount of overlapping and concentration of key personnel in top posts, a large number of key jobs are held by non-Party members or by Party members who hold only one or two

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AF15

•647 positions, and at the same time there are a number of Communist officials who do not hold jobs equal in number or cumulative rank to those held by non-Communists. This can undoubtedly be explained by the shortage of Party men qualified for top positions, by the fact that East China was so thoroughly overwhelmed by Communist forces as to make close spacing of Party men less necessary than in an area like Central-South China, and by the ready availability of highly-trained or prominent non-Party personnel in this region.

Except for the three men in the very top category -- Yeh Fei, Su Yü, and Ch'en I -- we do not find a direct correlation between Party membership and the number of jobs held simultaneously. The largest number of Party members is found in the group of men who holds two jobs, and the next largest number among the men who hold only one job.

On the other hand, except for Chekiang Province, we find a significant distribution of Party members throughout the provincial administrations. Both the governor and one deputy-governor of the Anhwei Provincial People's Government are Communists; the governor and the chairman of the Provincial Committee of the Chinese People's P.C.C. in Fukien Province are also members of the Fukien Provincial Committee of the CPC.

1;Stanford U. S-4; 5 1956 AF15 East China
~~AF15~~ AF15

647 In both Kiangsu and Shantung we find one Communist deputy-governor, and in Shanghai both the mayor and one deputy-mayor are Party members.

## VI. OFFICIALS OF MASS ORGANIZATIONS

Of key importance to the Communist system of control is the existence of mass organizations -- the New Democratic Youth Corps, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, and so on -- which have been devised for almost every possible social and economic grouping. Under the leadership and direction of the Party, and disciplined through democratic centralism, these organizations serve to regiment a wide variety of activities which in a non-Communist state would be considered non-political. In addition to such organizations, there exist a number of political groups which serve, at least theoretically, to give an appearance of wide non-Party participation in political movements.

It is significant that among the men under investigation we find 23 officials of such organizations: the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association (8); the New Democratic Youth Corps (7); the Democratic League (3); the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee (2); the China Democratic Construction Association (2); and the China Association for the Promotion of Democracy (1).

1;Stanford U, S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
AF15

• 647 Furthermore, three men are university presidents -- a circumstance which assumes significance against the well-known background of Communist reorganization and supervision of schools as instruments for the reshaping of society.

## VIII. BACKGROUNDS OF EAST CHINA LEADERS

The backgrounds of the men who constitute the leadership in East China reveal both a variety in political experience and a pattern of long and successful participation in Party and governmental activities, in military service, and in private business and professions.

There are seven veteran Communist leaders whose careers date from the 1920s: Ch'en I, Chang Ting-ch'eng, T'an Cheng-lin, Yeh Fei, Su Yü, and Tseng Shan. The careers of these men include participation in revolutionary uprisings and guerrilla warfare, top rank in the New 4th Army, and membership on the Central Executive Committee of the All-China Congress of Soviets.

Five other men are Party members whose careers can be traced back to the Sino-Japanese War and World War II. Kuan Wen-wei and Tseng Hsi-sheng were division commanders in the New 4th Army, and Wang Cho-ju, Hsü Chien-kuo and Huang Yen were Communist

•647 Party officials in Border Districts during World War II.

Among the non-Party men in the upper echelons of the Communist administration, we find three officials who took part in the revolutionary movement under Sun Yat-sen: Liu Ya-tzu, a famous poet, went on to become a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, from which he was expelled in 1940 because of his criticism of Chiang Kai-shek; Pao Ta-san abandoned active politics in 1927 and pursued a successful business career until 1946, when he participated in the "Shanghai All-Circles' Petition Committee" and consequently was arrested by Kuomintang authorities; Ting Ch'ao-wu, one-time counsellor to Sun Yat-sen, was an active Kuomintang leader until 1949.

Two administrators in addition to Pao Ta-san had successful business careers prior to joining the government. Sheng P'i-hua, a prominent Shanghai industrialist, supported the Communists from the 1930s, and has been deputy-mayor of Shanghai since 1949; Leng Yü, also a Shanghai businessman, was formerly a member of the People's Political Council established by the Kuomintang regime during the Sino-Japanese war, but since 1949 has been active in Communist administration.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
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●647 Two men were well-known educators. Ma Ying-ch'u taught economics for over twenty years between 1914 and 1928; from 1928 until 1944 he was a member of the Legislative Yuan of the Nationalist Government in Nanking. In 1944 he was put under surveillance for criticism of the financial and economic policies of the Nationalist Government, and in 1949 he joined the Communist administration. Ch'en Chia-keng, leader of the Chinese community in Singapore, founded the Chi-mei School in Amoy and the Amoy University. In 1940 he made an extensive inspection tour of the territories controlled by both the Kuomintang and the Communists, and he subsequently became very critical of the Kuomintang regime. He came out openly in favor of the Communists in 1946.

Two men whose careers are of unusual interest are Chi Fang, who is at present deputy-governor of the Kiangsu Provincial People's Government, delegate to the First NPC and a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Democratic League, and Ch'en Shao-k'uan, now deputy-governor of the Fukien Provincial People's Government, member of the National Defence Council, and member of the Committee on the Budget of the First NPC.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
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647 Chi Fang began his career as an instructor at the Whampoa Military Academy, and later became an official in the Department of Political Affairs of the headquarters of the Kuomintang's Northern Expeditionary Forces. After the Kuomintang purge of 1927, Chi went to Shanghai to edit leftist magazines and was subsequently co-founder of the Third Party and of the Fukien People's Government (in 1933). When that government fell, he continued anti-Nationalist underground activities in Shanghai, and from the time of the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War he collaborated openly with the Communists.

Ch'en Shao-k'uan began his career in the Chinese Navy after graduating from the Foochow Naval Academy, and rose to the rank of Commander-in-Chief of the Navy. He was also a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang until 1944.

The careers of two other men were cut short by Party purges in 1955. Jao Shu-shih had been a leader of the students' and workers' movements in Shanghai while a student at the Shanghai University in the early 1920s, and he took an active role in the "May 30th Incident" in 1925. After the failure of the Communist uprising in 1927, Jao went abroad and worked as a manual laborer in the United States and in Eastern European countries. On his return

to China, he entered the Soviet district in Kiangsi and became a prominent leader in the Land Reform Movement. He assisted in the organization of the New 4th Army, and, from 1941 on, was a member of the Central Committee of the CPC. Prior to being purged, he served as political commissar of the East China People's Liberation Army, the Third Field Army, and the East China Military District.

The second purged Communist is P'an Han-nien, the brother of another prominent Communist, P'an Tzu-nien. He played an active role in the leftist literary movement in Shanghai during the period of the Kuomintang's Northern Expedition, and after the failure of the Communist uprising in 1927 he entered the Soviet district in Kiangsi and joined the CPC. He made an inspection tour of the Soviet Union and European countries for the Party in 1933, and, after his return, participated in the Long March. He engaged in underground activities in Shanghai and Hong Kong during the early years of the Sino-Japanese War and in Chungking and Hong Kong during World War II. Before being purged in 1955, he was a member of the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the CPC and deputy-mayor of Shanghai.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
~~AF13~~ AF15

•647 The career patterns of these men reveal, then, both the variety of backgrounds from which the Communists have drawn their leaders in East China and the outstanding careers not only of the Party men in these key positions, but even more particularly, the non-Party office-holders -- the Kuomintang administrators, the military men, the educators and the literary figures, the industrialists and businessmen -- upon whom Peking has depended. Undoubtedly the prestige value of these men has been at least as important to the Communist regime as their administrative services.

## VIII. PROVINCIAL POSITIONS

A survey of East China incumbents according to their provincial positions fails to reveal any significant patterns or trends.

Among the five governors, we find two veteran Communists: Yeh Fei of Fukien Province and Huang Yen of Anhwei Province. Sha Wen-han, of Chekiang Province, is first known as a delegate to the Chinese People's P.C.C. in 1949, vice-chairman of the Chekiang Provincial People's Government (1949-1952) and a member of the Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs of the East China M.P.C. (1949-1952). Nothing else is known of his career. The two other governors --

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
AF15

• 647 Chao Chien-min of Shantung and Hui Yü-yü of Kiangsu -- are known only since 1950: Hui was director of the North Kiangsu People's Government and Chao was an official in the Southwest China M.P.C. and Deputy Minister of Railways of the Central People's Government (1953-1954).

Among the deputy-governors we find three Party officials, three former Kuomintang leaders, ten men with previous administrative experience in the Communist administration, and four about whom nothing is known except their present positions. Their previous administrative experience includes the following: membership on the Government Administration Council (only one deputy-governor, Leng Yü, had this positoon); president of the East China Branch of the People's Supreme Court (Liu Min-sheng, deputy-governor of the Shantung Provincial People's Government held this positinn); director of People's governments (3); vice-chairman of provincial People's governments (11); member of provincial People's governments (5); delegate to the First Chinese P.C.C.(6); director of the Department of Public Safety (1); member of the East China M.P.C. and of the East China A.C. (10).

1;Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF15 East China
AF15

647 The five deputy-mayors of Shanghai have all had previous administrative experience. In their backgrounds we find two directors of People's governments, two delegates to the first Chinese People's P.C.C., and one Party official with a career dating back to the Border Region period.

Among the seven members of the Provincial Committees of the Chinese People's P.C.C., we find two known Communist Party members -- one whose career goes back to the Border Region period and one who is known only since 1949. According to our data, only three others have had administrative experience; these are all deputy-governors also, and are men who have held administrative positions on provincial levels since 1949.

We have background information on only two of the remaining incumbents: Wei Ming, president of the Shanghai People's Higher Court, was director of the South Anhwei People's Government from 1949 to 1952 and president of the East China Branch of the People's Supreme Court from 1952 to 1954; Wang Pi-ch'eng, commander of the Chekiang Provincial Military District and of the 7th Army Corps of the People's Liberation Army, was commander of the 2nd Brigade of the 1st Division of the New 4th Army and concurrently commander of the 2nd military sub-district of the Central Kiangsu Military District during World War II.

• 647 All nine of the incumbents holding key positions on a national level have had long and outstanding experience -- seven with the Communist Party, one in the Kuomintang, and one as a businessman in Shanghai.

To summarize our data on the other incumbents, we find that 23 have careers dating from the 1940s, the available records on 15 begin with the 1950s, and we have no information on the others beyond their present positions.

One of the more persistent facts emerging from this study of key personalities in East China is the lack of adequate biographical data from which to draw meaningful conclusions. This is particularly true in connection with the incumbents of the lower echelons. It is clear, however, that the structure of controls in East China is essentially what one would expect to find in a Communist state. The high proportion of non-Party senior leaders does not alter the basic pattern of centralized Party control.